

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 07459 01 OF 02 141122Z

15

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AEC-05 H-01 INR-05

L-02 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

AGR-05 CIEP-01 COME-00 CU-02 EB-07 OES-03 STR-01 /100 W

----- 065572

O R 141030Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9650

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 223

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 7459

MADRID ALSO FOR LOWENSTEIN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - DECEMBER 9-13

1. SUMMARY. THE PACE OF CONFERENCE WORK CONTINUED TO PICK UP, BUT ROMANIANS BLOCKED REGISTRATION OF COMPROMISE TEXT ON CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07459 01 OF 02 141122Z

MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF DIFFERENT STATES, (APPARENTLY

OUT OF PIQUE AT LACK OF ADVANCE CONSULTATION BY SOVIETS ON CONTENT OF TEXT) THUS TEMPORARILY HALTING THE PROMISING PROGRESS BEING MADE ON BASKET III ISSUES. DESPITE THIS AND OTHER PROBLEMS, BASKET III GENERALLY CONTINUED TO MAKE HALTING PROGRESS. WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES ALSO MOVED FORWARD SIGNIFICANTLY. THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION) WAS AGREED INFORMALLY AND THIS PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE REGISTERED NEXT WEEK. FRENCH DEL INTRODUCED A NEW DRAFT OF THE TENTH AND LAST PRINCIPLE (FULFILLMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS), INCLUDING AGREED FOUR-POWER RIGHTS SAVING CLAUSE, WHICH WAS IMMEDIATELY SUPPORTED BY US, UK, AND USSR. WITH SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT NOW EVIDENT IN PRINCIPLES AND BASKET III, WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS EXPRESSED CONCERN AT LACK OF PROGRESS OF ANY KIND ON MILITARY SUBJECTS. DATES OF CHRISTMAS RECESS WERE AGREED: DEC. 20 - JAN. 20. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- INITIAL RAPID PROGRESS IN NINTH PRINCIPLE ON COOPERATION BOGGED DOWN ON FRIDAY OVER A DISCUSSION AS TO WHETHER PROPOSED FIRST SENTENCE DEALING WITH COOPERATION "IN ALL FIELDS OF MUTUAL INTEREST" TO PARTICIPATING STATES COULD BE READ AS A NEW LOOPHOLE THROUGH WHICH EASTERN EUROPEANS COULD AVOID IMPLEMENTING BASKETS II AND III. (RATIONALE HERE IS THAT SOVIETS MIGHT ASSERT LACK OF "INTEREST" IN CERTAIN BASKET III AREAS AND CLAIM TEXT OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLE WAS OVERRIDING.) FINAL SENTENCE OF EIGHTH PRINCIPLE ON SELF-DETERMINATION HAS NOW BEEN AGREED IN AN INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP AND THAT PRINCIPLE SHOULD BE REGISTERED NEXT WEEK.

FRANCE TABLED A NEW TEXT FOR THE TENTH PRINCIPLE ON RESPECT FOR OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW CONTAINING PARAGRAPH DEVELOPED IN BONN GROUP AND GENEVA TO SAFEGUARD FOUR-POWER RIGHTS IN GERMANY AND BERLIN. US, UK AND USSR EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THIS PARA. WE INFORMED ROMANIA WE COULD ACCEPT THEIR MODIFIED PARA 3 OF THEIR PROPOSAL ON NON-USE OF FORCE AND ROMANIANS PROMPTLY TABLED A REVISED TEXT TO REFLECT VIEWS OF CERTAIN OTHER DELS. HOWEVER, NUMBER OF PROBLEMS REMAIN, AND REGISTRATION BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS BREAK APPEARED UNLIKELY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 07459 01 OF 02 141122Z

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED ITS DISCUSSION OF PARAMETERS FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, FOCUSING ON QUESTIONS OF AREA OF APPLICATION AND TIMING, BUT WITHOUT MAKING ANY PROGRESS. BULGARIANS PROPOSED MENTAL REGISTRATION OF SENTENCE WHICH WOULD LEAVE A BLANK FOR THE SPECIFIC TIME FOR NOTIFICATION, OMITTING REITERATION OF PREVIOUS NATO, NEUTRAL AND WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS ON THIS

POINT (49, 30 AND 10 DAYS). THIS WAS OPPOSED BY SEVERAL NATO DELEGATIONS BUT ROMANIANS COMMENTED AT SUBCOMMITTEE THAT BULGARIAN PROPOSAL MIGHT PRESAGE SOME FLEXIBILITY ON PART OF THOSE EASTERN DELS WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY INSISTED ON 10 DAYS NOTIFICATION. AT CAUCUS, UK AND NORWEGIAN DELS INDICATED THEY WERE INTRIGUED BY ROMANIAN REMARKS BUT FRENCH REGISTERED STRONG SKEPTICISM AND RESISTANCE TO BULGARIAN APPROACH. CONTINUED LACK OF PROGRESS ON CBMS PROMPTED EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN FROM MOST OF NATO DELS, INCLUDING FRG, UK, FRANCE AND US, IN COMMITTEE I. (GIVEN GENERAL ALLIED CONCERN ON SUBJECT, US DEL FELT IT COULD NOT REMAIN SILENT). SEVERAL NEUTRAL DELS MADE SIMILAR STATEMENTS IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE DEVOTED TWO FRUITLESS SESSIONS TO PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ROMANIA WAS ONLY DELEGATION REFUSING TO CONCUR IN TRUKISH FORMULATION WHICH REFERS TO "LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND REGIONS IN EUROPE." ROMANIANS INSISTED ON REFERENCE TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REGIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, INCLUDING THOSE IN EUROPE." IN THEIR VIEW, THIS WOULD GIVE THEM STATUS SIMILAR TO ALL OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AN OBJECTIVE WHICH SOVIETS OPPOSE. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES, AUSTRIA SUGGESTED COMPROMISE FORMULA ON SAFEGUARDS FOR PRODUCTS AND MARKETS WHICH ATTEMPTS TO MEET US CONCERNS. SUBCOMMITTEE IS CURRENTLY DISCUSSING PARAGRAPH ON MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL TRADING ARRANGEMENTS. SUBCOMMITTEES ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AND SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY FAILED TO REMOVE FEW REMAINING TROUBLESOME BRACKETS IN THEIR TEXTS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS REGISTERED ONE PREAMBULAR SENTENCE ON IMPORTANCE OF TOURISM AND ONE PHRASE ON FOREIGN CURRENCY AND DOCUMENTS FOR TOURIST TRAVEL ABROAD, WITH ROMANIANS BRACKETING

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 07459 01 OF 02 141122Z

PROVISION ON DOCUMENTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 07459 02 OF 02 141145Z

11

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AEC-05 H-01 INR-05

L-02 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

AGR-05 CIEP-01 COME-00 CU-02 EB-07 OES-03 STR-01 /100 W

----- 065747

O R 141030Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9651

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 224

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 7459

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE'S EFFORTS TO REGISTER A DELICATELY BALANCED TEXT ON MARRIAGE WERE FRUSTRATED BY ROMANIANS WHO, APPARENTLY IN A SHOW OF RESENTMENT AGAINST THE WORKING METHODS USED, (TWO OR THREE DELEGATIONS WORKING OUT A COMPROMISE TEXT AFTER A LONG SERIES OF LARGER INFORMAL MEETINGS), REOPENED SIX COMPROMISE ELEMENTS OF THE TEXT. ROMANIAN RESENTMENT SEEMS TO BE DIRECTED PRIMARILY AGAINST THE SOVIETS BUT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GENEVA 07459 02 OF 02 141145Z

ALL DELEGATIONS WERE INCLUDED IN THE ROMANIAN REP'S DIATRIBE. AFTER A SPECIAL MEETING ON FRIDAY, ALL DELEGATIONS AGREED TO RECONSIDER THE SITUATION, BUT ROMANIANS WERE COMPLETELY ISOLATED AND OTHER DELEGATIONS WERE DETERMINED NOT TO CHANGE ONE WORD OF THE MARRIAGE TEXT. TO COMPOUND THE FRUSTRATION, DRAFTING ON TRAVEL WAS ALSO SET BACK WHEN THE POLES RE-INTRODUCED TWO RESTRICTIVE PARAS WHICH THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY ABANDONED. IN ADDITION,

THE NEUTRAL GROUP WHICH HAD AGREED TO INTRODUCE A DRAFT INTRODUCTORY TEXT, INCLUDING A PHRASE ON MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS, HAD TROUBLE REACHING AGREEMENT, AND WHEN THEY DID THE SOVIETS UNEXPECTEDLY FOUND THEIR DRAFT UNACCEPTABLE. AT WEEK'S END SUBDUED HOPE REMAINED THAT ALL THREE TEXTS MIGHT STILL BE AGREED BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE FARED BETTER, REACHING INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON SEVERAL PARAGRAPHS IN THE TEXTS ON EXCHANGE AND COOPERATION AND AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION. DRAFTING ALSO BEGAN ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS IN A GENERALLY GOOD SPIRIT BUT WITH NO AGREEMENT. IN CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE, PROGRESS WAS HINDERED BY CONTINUING DIFFICULTIES IN RECONCILING FRENCH/GERMAN AND RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE VERSIONS OF TEXTS ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS. FRENCH PRESSED FOR SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM IN ORDER TO FOCUS ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE OF FOREIGN LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS BEFORE CHRISTMAS RECESS. EDUCATIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE AT WEEK'S END BEGAN FINAL REVIEW OF TEXT ON STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATION, DRAFTED BY INFORMAL EAST/WEST WORKING GROUP (INCLUDING USDEL). THIS TEXT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE REGISTERED BEFORE CHRISTMAS BREAK.

6. COMMENT: THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE PACE OF THE CONFERENCE HAS NOW SIGNIFICANTLY PICKED UP, AND THAT A LARGER DEGREE OF SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL FLEXIBILITY IS BEING SHOWN ON ALL SIDES. THIS FACT, COMBINED WITH THE MORE POSITIVE FRENCH ATTITUDE SIGNALLED BY THE BREZHNEV-GISCARD COMMUNIQUE, HAS CONVINCED DELEGATES HERE THAT CSCE IS NOW ON ITS WAY TO A CONCLUSION IN THE SPRING. IN THIS SITUATION, THE ROMANIAN BLOCKAGE OF THE MARRIAGE TEXT WHICH WOULD HAVE COMPLETED CSCE'S "FAMILY PACKAGE," WAS PARTICULARLY RESENTED BY EAST, WEST AND NEUTRALS, WHO GENERALLY SUSPECT THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GENEVA 07459 02 OF 02 141145Z

ROMANIANS HAVE NOW ADOPTED A TACTIC OF MAKING A GENERAL NUISANCE OF THEMSELVES, IN ORDER TO BUILD UP PRESSURE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES--THEIR OWN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL, AND SOME FORM OF REGULARIZED FOLLOW-UP.

7. PROGRESS IN NEARLY ALL OTHER SUBJECT AREAS ALSO FOCUSED THE CONCERN OF WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS ON THE FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, PARTICULARLY CBMS, ALL AUTUMN. DESPITE EARLIER RUMORS FROM EASTERN SOURCES THAT THE SOVIETS COULD ACCEPT MORE MEANINGFUL PARAMETERS FOR A CBM ON MANEUVERS, THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THEY HAVE ALREADY REACHED THE LIMITS OF THEIR POSSIBILITIES IN THIS AREA. THE NEUTRALS AND OUR NATO ALLIES

ARE EQUALLY INSISTENT THAT THE PRESENT SOVIET POSITION
IS NOT ENOUGH, AND ARE CONCERNED THAT ADEQUATE
COMPROMISES MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE IN A FINAL RUSH TO
CONCLUDE STAGE II WORK. THESE CONSIDERATIONS LED TO
STATEMENTS OF CONCERN THIS WEEK ON THE PROGRESS OF WORK
ON MILITARY SUBJECTS, A CONCERN WHICH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY
GROW IF WORK ELSEWHERE IN THE CONFERENCE CONTINUES TO
PROGRESS FASTER THAN THAT ON CBMS. END COMMENT. DALE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BASKET III, NEGOTIATIONS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 DEC 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974GENEVA07459
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WEST WORKING GROUP (INCLUDING
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740364-0150
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741234/aaaabczt.tel
Line Count: 285
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <11 JUL 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - DECEMBER 9-13
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005